3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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the floor and the stone inverted over it to keep its grinding surface away from the dogs. When again needed it is cleaned by taking a cooked plantain, grinding it upon the stone, and rolling it around thoroughly over the grinding surface. This process takes up all the fragments of plantain left from the previous grinding, and thoroughly cleanses both the mealing stone and the muller. The ridges on the two sides and one end of the mealing stone help to keep the plantain from flying off during this grinding. The lack of a ridge along the second end, however, is of advantage in grinding green corn, which process has already been described.

Now and then the mealing stone and muller are used for treating other products, such as the inner pulp of the fruit of a tree called ma′iñ-tcī, which is ground and mixed with balsa charcoal to make the black face-paint called ma′lyū.

The only other native stone implement is that used as a sinker on the seine and the casting net. These sinkers are simply waterworn pebbles ranging from two to four inches in length and from an inch to two inches in diameter. They are called cūpū′ka, a general term signifying stone, and appear to have no special name. In large measure these pebbles, unworked, are rolled in the leaf called ū′tya haki and tied directly to the lower edge of the net; but now and then are found sinkers of such form that they are likely to become detached from the net, hence these are provided with rough notches or even surrounding grooves.

Certain smooth stones, and especially black ones, are used in treating the sick.

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above tabulation, these several distinct forms of baskets have special uses. The four types of burden-basket are used almost exclusively for carrying heavy loads upon the back. The two types made of hoja de chapil are, as above stated, only for temporary use and are worthless except while the leaves are green. They are also sometimes used, even after they are dry and brittle, by the shamans in their medicine practices. The other two types, which are made of the very durable pitigua, are sometimes used as storage receptacles about the house when not needed for carrying burdens, which is their primary use.

The flaring basket, kū'bī (pl. XCII, 7), is carried by means of a single band provided with a special, wide head-band that passes across the top of the head as the bearer bends forward. This is primarily a woman's burden-basket and is used in the daily home life of the people for bringing fruits and other products from the fields and in a multitude of other ways. It is, however, rarely used in carrying wood, which is so often one of the most important functions of burden-baskets among aboriginal peoples. Wood is usually brought by the canoe-load from some point near the river where a suitable dead tree can be found.

The straight-walled basket, fe' pickalyī (pl. XCII, 6, 8), is made especially for carrying burdens considerable distances, as on long trail journeys into the interior. Within their own territory these baskets are rarely needed by the Cayapa, since practically all travel is by canoe. Such a basket is provided with two burden-bands attached near the top and the bottom respectively,

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MEDICINE PRACTICES. SHAMANISM

753 Among the Cayapa practically all illness is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits. In large measure [778] the particular spirits which cause illness reside in small, black, water-worn stones, in fragments of ancient pottery, in mammals, snakes, insects, and the like.

By the entering of one of these spirits into the body of an individual, and especially, as is usually the case, if one of the mentioned objects which is the special abode of this spirit enters also, a serious and often fatal illness results. This illness may take the form of any one of the numerous diseases common to the tropics.

There are various ways in which one of these spirits may enter the body. It may, for instance, enter directly into the body itself as the individual is passing the abode of the spirit, or it may enter the soul of the person which, while he sleeps, is traveling about the earth. In the latter case the spirit, on the return of the individual's soul, is taken into the body and the same symptoms and illness result as when it enters directly without the medium of the soul.

●755 In almost every case a cure may be effected, provided a competent shaman is called in time. Each shaman has his own method of treatment, but in general these methods are similar and consist of (1) whistling and singing to call certain guardian spirits to the shaman's aid; (2) when these spirits have been summoned, the affected part of the body is sprayed with a decoction of rum and bejuco, and is massaged and rubbed with the hands or is sucked with the lips in order to draw through

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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the skin the stone or other object which, by traveling through the body, together with the spirit which resides in it, causes the illness. 755

Shamans or doctors form, to a certain extent at least, a special class by themselves, but, so far as could be ascertained, they have no secret or special organization. They are not, on the other hand, "predestined" or specially selected by natural temperament. Any one may become a shaman if he so wishes by simply training under the guidance and instruction of one or more old shamans of recognized ability. For this training he pays a stipulated sum, and is instructed every night until he has learned thoroughly the songs and incantations and the various rituals of his instructor, and also has become more or less familiar with the special spirits which his instructor invokes. He does not, however, rely solely on the spirits of his instructor, but sooner or later acquires others of his own. Likewise, he may devise new songs and incantations. 756 [465]

Not only has the shaman to cure by expelling the spirits from the body of a patient, but he has the more important function of expelling spirits from a locality or from a particular house infested with those which cause illness. This expulsion of spirits from a locality or a house is usually accomplished by several persons under the direction of a head shaman. A decoction of rum and bejuco is almost always used by the shaman himself in this exorcism; the other participants are provided with a kind of decoction made by soaking a species of native mint in water. A large number of cigars are also provided, and it is the blowing of the tobacco smoke, 789

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along with the spraying of the decoctions from the mouth, that makes the particular locality or house untenable for the spirits. The shaman intersperses his blowing and spraying with incantations and with low whistling. He also carries a special lance-shape wand which he waves constantly with a forward motion.

In one instance in which the spirits were to be expelled from a house, the procedure was as follows: The party commenced at one end of the main floor and went slowly toward the opposite end. As they proceeded, each person thoroughly sprayed the floor in front of him and blew clouds of smoke into the air before him. Also every basket, bench, and pottery vessel, and every nook and corner wherein a spirit might be hiding, was thoroughly sprayed and smoked. The main floor being finished, the loft was treated in a similar manner. Next the party descended to the ground under the house, where everything was thoroughly sprayed, even to the pigs and chickens in their pens and coops. Finally, to be sure that the spirits had been completely expelled, the party proceeded, with its spraying and incantations, into the adjoining clearing, and even for a short distance into the jungle.

Such a ceremony is not an especially solemn occasion. In fact the participants laugh and talk throughout, much as if they were engaged in any daily pursuit. This expulsion of spirits is resorted to when several members of a family have been stricken with the same disease. For instance, in case several members have been attacked in succession with fever, one or more shamans are summoned and the spirits which are believed

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to be resident in the house or in the surrounding ground are expelled in the manner described. 755

Similarly after death, since the soul of the departed is believed to return to the house and may cause illness or even death of other members of the family, shamans are called in and the particular soul expelled.

Such a soul is not simply driven into the jungle, but ordinarily is driven into the ocean. It goes to one of two places: to the island of Gorgona off the southern coast of Colombia, or to a large mythical sandbar far out at sea. Sometimes souls are driven only down to the sand beaches along the ocean near the mouth of the river, or in some instances to some secluded and lonely spot far in the mountains. In any event the services of one or more shamans must be enlisted within a month or so after the death of a person in order that his returning soul shall not bring illness and perhaps death to any of the surviving members of the household. 755 775

In speaking of souls and spirits it must be borne in mind that as these two terms are here used they are not identical in Cayapa conception. Every animate being has a soul or shade which is a definite part of itself and without which life is impossible. This soul lives on after death. It has the form of the body it occupies, and has the power of leaving the body and wandering about when the body sleeps or is otherwise unconscious, and in this particular resembles a spirit. A true spirit, on the other hand, is a supernatural entity which resides in an object, animate or inanimate, or in a particular spot, but which has nothing to do with the existence of that object. It may take the form of the object it inhabits, especially if the object is animate; but fre- 774 776 774 776

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Further treatment by magic is almost the only 755

remedy known to the Cayapa, and implicit confidence is reposed in the shaman with his conniving spirits. It may be said that almost without exception no herb remedies are taken internally, and very few are applied externally.

For cuts or serious bruises where it is obvious to the 752
Cayapa mind that spirits are not at fault, the wound is generally sealed with brea, the wax of a small bee. This is applied while hot, and appears to have a genuine medicinal value, since it tends to sterilize the affected spot and reduce the probability of infection, so deadly in tropical countries. Similarly a piece of green leaf may be placed over a cut or bruise or over a running sore, to protect it from the air, and especially from annoying and dangerous insects. This treatment is used especially for the ulcers which result from the bite of a small mosquito found in large numbers in this part of the tropics. Almost any kind of a leaf serves this purpose, and the treatment has of itself no aseptic virtue.

For anything more serious than a cut, bruise, or ulcer, no treatment is used other than bathing the wound occasionally and perhaps bandaging it, since such cases are considered too serious to yield to treatment. This is 752 755
especially true of an ailment caused by something of foreign origin, as a gunshot wound, which, being due to an instrument of which the Cayapa have no aboriginal knowledge, cannot be cured by a shaman. If, on the other hand, a wound of this kind results in complications, such as increased temperature, a shaman is summoned to treat it for the reason that the affection is obviously due to the presence of malevolent spirits; but the Indians

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752-755 maintain that a shaman never attempts to cure the wound itself. A case of this kind observed in 1909 was that of a young man who had been accidentally shot at close range. There were seven buckshot holes through the calf of the leg, and each formed an ugly gangrenous wound. When first seen seven days had elapsed since he had received the wounds, but no treatment, magic or otherwise, had been given other than the bathing and bandaging above mentioned.

756-778 A shaman's paraphernalia consists almost invariably of three classes of objects. First, one or more small lance-shape wands of black wood, each possessing special magic power from the spirit or spirits residing therein; second, a bottle of a decoction of rum and bejuco; third, a number of smooth black stones, potsherds, and similar objects of unusual forms. Especially valued are the ancient stone axes, either whole or fragmentary, which are found now and then about old village-sites and mounds or along the banks of streams. These objects, as before stated, are all supposed to be inhabited by spirits. One may be the abode of only a single spirit, while another may contain as many as ten or a dozen. One stone ax, for example, in possession of a shaman near Punta Venado, was said to contain five spirits. When an attempt was made to purchase this ax from him, he was greatly in doubt whether it would be wise and proper for him to part with it. To settle the matter he sprayed the stone with the decoction of bejuco and rum, and sang and whistled to it for a considerable time, meanwhile gazing at it intently. At last he pointed out the exact positions

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and do not paint their bodies; they have large blue wings with which they fly from place to place, and the flapping of which causes the detonation we call thunder. They have no special abode, but frequent certain places more than others: especially do they frequent a particular high hill far up the Rio Cayapas. 776 821

Other informants differ in some particulars in their description of Thunder. By them it is said that he has no wings and does not fly, but that he and his wife sit constantly on top of a large tree on a high hill far away in the mountains. They are giants, with very massive backs, and are very strong. They have very long finger-nails, which are hard like rocks; these they shed from time to time and when found they are much prized by shamans for curing disease. Instead of having bluish bodies covered with bristles, the Thunders wear the ordinary attire of the Cayapa, but of a blue color. In addition they both wear blue caps, and both have long hair on their arms. When in a bad temper, Thunder talks loudly and growls, thus making the thundering noise. His bad disposition is especially manifest in the rainy season, while at other periods he is mild-tempered, growling only occasionally. Thunder's wife never has anything to say. It is said that up to about a generation ago the Thunders lived toward the lower course of the Rio Cayapas, but that in recent years they moved into a very remote part of the mountains and that thunder is consequently less frequently heard now in the Cayapa country. [755]

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of witchcraft. Barrett records that very little attention is given to wounds per se beyond the application of hot beeswax or a leaf to keep off the insects; however, a few individuals have specialized in the setting of broken bones. Apparently, this specialty is not taught, but a person who wants to engage in this activity practices by removing the corn kernels from a dry ear of corn and then replaces them in their sockets under cover of the husks. This is said to develop finger dexterity and the sense of touch. With growing competence the neophyte bonesetter practices mending the limbs of domestic animals, and eventually, the first human patient requests his services. Clean fractures seem to be rather easily handled, and it is said that "green-twig" fractures are similarly mended. The price for this service is high, ranging from 500 sucres to over 1,000 sucres.

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For illnesses caused by spirit possession or spirit loss, a brujo or witch is needed. There are no special requirements for becoming a brujo beyond the desire and money to pay for instruction. As the prophet is seldom honored in his own country, so the Cayapa

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maintain that the best witches are not Cayapa at all but rather the Cholo of Colombia and the Colorado of Ecuador. Next in order of preference are the highland Indians around Ibarra, and, finally, those Cayapa who have been instructed from the masters listed in descending order of preference. Those Cayapa who have been instructed by other Cayapa enjoy very little esteem. There is said to be a good deal of jealousy between witches, and in popular belief they are said to seek opportunities to kill off their rivals.

The Cayapa theory of spirit possession is that if one is wandering in the monte, a spirit may spy one and fall in love with one. The spirit then embraces the victim and enters his body. Spirits or inimical objects may be implanted in the body by witchcraft as well. When someone falls ill and lingers in illness for a time, the charge is made that an enemy is at work. The task of the brujo is simply to rid the body of the object or spirit that is causing the illness.

The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological artifacts that were made by the people resident in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A

spirit is said to reside in each piece. Black stone axes are especially potent, as are pieces of crystal that have been purchased in town. Tobacco is part of every curing; the smoke wafts the illness away from the body. A considerable amount of alcohol is used as well. The witch takes a mouthful of /ǐškala/, 'rum,' and sprays it out of his mouth with a loud "whoosh" at the patient's back; a considerable amount of rum fails to compress as spray, and the witch finishes the curing in an advanced state of inebriation! In general, the manner of effecting a cure is as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:344-352). However, I participated in one that differed considerably. I was told one day that a curing session was in progress at a point not too distant from my house. When I arrived, the cure had apparently been going on for some time. A middle-aged man lay on a reed mat that had been placed on the ground. Alejandro of Encanto sat off to one side leaning back against two parallel sticks that had been thrust into the ground to serve as a backrest. From time to time he alternately whistled short stretches of staccato sounds, that had a decided "blues" quality,

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and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, peaked by the words "moreno . . . indio bravo . . . enfermidad . . . brujo . . . ," that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . ... sickness . . . witch . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indian; similarly, the Indio Bravos were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

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While this was going on, Gerardo, a minor brujo who is also Alejandro's father, rolled up some hoja blanca leaves in the shape of a cone, and placed it on the head of the patient who, by now, was sitting up. The old man then ran both of his hands up the patient's body toward the head. When he reached the forehead he squeezed tightly, quickly gathered up the conical "duncecap," and ran off into the jungle where he threw it away. He had brought out some of the malignant spirits through the patient's head and into the hat. As this was going on, the patient kept looking at me out of the corner of his eye; finally he said to Gerardo, while pointing his lips at me, "He's real big;' at this, Gerardo asked if I would like to try removing some of the illness. I agreed with alacrity, and as I placed my hands along the patient's sides and began massaging upwards, he cried out: "/úra, úra/, which means "good, good." Gerardo and I worked together, and used up four cone hats. Throughout all of this activity, Alejandro kept humming and chanting, and taking long pulls at the rum bottle, and occasionally spraying some in our direction.

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At the conclusion of the curing ceremony, the

patient, who appeared to be wracked by malaria, declared that my power had helped him considerably. This comment was accepted with perfect equanimity by the two brujos who nodded and agreed that I did have big hands.

There appears to be no conflict between the Cayapa theory of disease and modern medical practices. On several occasions, Kalía, an active brujo, would come to me for medications to give his patients. The feeling was that the White man's medicine taken together with the native remedy could not be beaten; however, quite commonly, western medication is sought only as a last resort.

Almost everyone has a modicum of curing knowledge, but one would never dare to utter incantations that summon spirits, unless he has paid a teacher for knowledge. An unauthorized person who called the spirits would be killed by them. Most people will at one time or another attempt to effect a cure. A brief illustration of some of these points can be seen in the following events recorded during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959:

[Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado]

It was one thirty in the afternoon on Friday, when a very sick child was brought to the /únʸi/ to be cured. Gabriel, was quite drunk, but he took the child and blew on the top of its head. He then passed the child to a Negress, who did the same thing, and then tossed the child up into the air. The /únʸi/ then took the child and blew on its head again. The parents of the child stood by crying, as it was obvious that the child was in mortal danger. Some other Indians began taking turns blowing at the child's head, and one began to suck out at the nostrils, while another massaged the child's hands. The Negress suggested using some chocolate, but this advice was ignored. I offered some sulfa pills, but the father refused them. The /kapitán/ then began rubbing a commercial menthol ointment around the child's face, neck and chest. While he was doing this, the /únʸi/ slumped down in a corner of the room and passed out drunk. The Negress kept urging the /kapitán/ to rub some of the ointment on the child's back, and he did so. Then the mother took the child, and offered it the breast, which was refused.

The child was gasping very hard. At this point, the father took off his western styled shirt, and put on a yellow Cayapa shirt. As he was doing this a young man took hold of the child's right wrist, and began blowing on the fingers, while another began to briefly blow on the child's head.

Eventually, the number of people working on the child dwindled to three men, including the /kapitán/, who are said to be brujos . . . they removed the child to an abandoned house site, and they sat on a log discussing what to do. Each brujo, as he drank from a bottle of rum, stated that he would use a very important and strong incantation; and then with a long look at the others, added, "and I am not afraid either." One began to whistle and chant, and another began sucking at the child's mouth, while the third kept complaining that I was too

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ugly to bear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three brujos were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

It is felt that brujos can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive sorcery was never attributed to Cayapa brujos. The father of Perdomo of Encanto was a brujo who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Governador, secretario de la governación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1925:312). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

Today, as in 1909, there are apparently three

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been met during the Christmas fiesta. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /únʸi/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other fiesteros including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /únʸi/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /kavítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /únʸi/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a brujo from Sapallo Grande, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

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As the fiesta wore on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

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Punta Venado and went up the Río Onzole. They were never punished again.

A brief alternate version of the above case has it that Rosenda was never punished "because he is an evil man who can afford to kill people by witchcraft. He also owns a revolver." Another statement was recorded from Gerardo of Encanto, who said that Rosenda had been punished with twenty lashes and fined thirty sucres. He then got rid of the second wife, but he took her back within a year. "People gossip but nothing more can be done, as he has been punished."

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This case was recorded on September 16, 1960. On the eleventh of September, Rosenda's first wife came up to Encanto to visit with the mother of the Cimarrón brothers. [She is 'family' with the mother but not with the sons.] She had come up from the Río Onzole alone and had told Rosenda that she was ill and wanted to look for a brujo. For this, she felt that she needed one hundred sucres, but Rosenda would not give her more than forty. The woman was very angry about Rosenda's lack of concern for her "illness." She told the people in the Cimarrón house that she wanted to leave her husband and go to her father on

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land is acceded to the cultivator. The theft of rubber appears to be more an indication of industry than of wrongdoing, and whatever criminal aspects exist are usually expiated by the sharing of the profits.

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The stealing of pigs, however, is in a totally different category. Unlike land, there is never a clouded title to the ownership of the animals, and unlike land, the fact of ownership of the animals is sufficient to establish the owner's legal rights. Pigs are not worked as is land, and increased production is left entirely up to the pigs. No matter how hard a pig thief may work--and, sometimes, he must run for miles across difficult country to round up the animal(s)--his industry brings him no rewards when he is caught, because he has contributed no productive labor. As a matter of fact, pig-stealing is recognized as an offense, although the thief may not be punished. The following case is illustrative of this point.

The owner of stolen pigs tracks down the thief. Lorenzo Añapa became ill some time in 1957 and went to Sapallo Grande to consult the /ún^{y}i/, Jesusito, who is a curer. The treatment lasted two weeks. When Lorenzo